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ABSTRACT

Issues pertinent to the positive and lasting reform of innercity school systems serving disadvantaged minority youth are explored in this paper. Current and past reforms to improve school effectiveness have dealt primarily with instructional deficiencies of the school. However, three clusters of problems must be addressed: institutional deficiencies, developmental problems, and cultural discontinuities, which encompass internal and external factors. Not only should reform efforts attempt to change educational incentive structures, but also emphasize human relationships and national leadership. A recommendation is made for application of the holistic approach used by the Comer and Levin models within a framework of a new, broad-based social movement supported by a communitywide combination of commitment and human resources. (152 references) (LMI)

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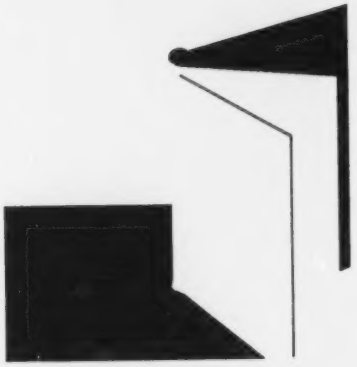

What Makes Ghetto Schools Work or Not Work?

William L. Boyd
Pennsylvania State University

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Project Report

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

College of Education

In collaboration with

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Center staff

Paul Thurston, Director
Martin Maehr, Co-Director
Stephanie Parker, Assistant Director

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The National Center
for School Leadership
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Room 208
1208 West Springfield Avenue
Urbana, IL 61801
1(800)356–0069 Fax number (217)244-4948

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Lonnie Wagstaff
Professor, Educational Administration, University of Texas at Austin

Project Investigators

University of Illinois at Urbana

Carole Ames, Chair, Educational Psychology
Alan Peshkin, Professor, Educational Psychology
Paul Thurston, Head and Professor, Administration, Higher and Continuing Education
Frederick Wirt, Professor, Political Science

The University of Michigan

C. Philip Kearney, Professor, Education
Martin Maehr, Professor, Education and Psychology
Carol Midgley, Project Associate
Karl Weick, Rensis Likert Collegiate Professor, School of Business

MetriTech, Inc.

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Stephan Ahadi, Project Investigator
Chris Scott, Project Investigator

Illinois State Board of Education

Dianne Ashby, Program Development and Delivery

Visiting Scholars

William Boyd, Professor, Education, Penn State University
Robert Crowson, Professor, Educational Administration, University of Illinois at Chicago
Charles Kerchner, Professor, Education and Public Policy, Claremont Graduate School
Douglas Mitchell, Professor, Education, University of California at Riverside

What Makes Ghetto Schools Work or Not Work?

William L. Boyd
Professor, Education
Pennsylvania State University

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the key issues that must be addressed for positive and lasting reform of inner city school systems serving disadvantaged minority youth. Only a fraction of these students ultimately graduate from high school, and only a small percentage of these graduates are able to read at levels commensurate with national averages. How can we ensure that ghetto schools are effective for most students and not just the exceptional minority who are academically motivated? Too often, current and past reforms have been preoccupied with schools alone. While institutional deficiencies must surely be addressed, other factors--developmental problems within the family and a cultural mismatch between schools and minority groups--are of equal, if not greater, importance. Out-of-school and in-school factors must be confronted simultaneously. While modifying the current incentive structure which discourages bold experimentation within these institutions, we must be able to help parents teach their children to be good students; while attempting to reduce segregation, violence, and gang activity within the schools, we must encourage strong, persuasive, highly visible national leadership committed to real and comprehensive educational reform. The Comer and Levin models illustrate the value of this type of holistic approach to inner city schools, but it is clear that true progress will require a new, broad-based social movement, dedicating public and private resources to the future of these children.

What Makes Ghetto Schools Work or Not Work?

Today's economic and demographic trends lend a new urgency to a perplexing, old question: How can we make failing ghetto schools perform effectively? America's social problems and difficulties in maintaining its competitiveness in the world economy will be greatly exacerbated if we do not effectively educate the soaring percentage of our young people who can be considered at risk of educational failure. "Estimates derived from the various demographic analyses suggest that upwards of 30% of students in kindergarten through 12th grade are educationally disadvantaged or at risk. When achievement is used as a criterion, it appears that the number of educationally at-risk students may be as high as 40%" (Levin, 1989, p. 49; see also, Pallas, Natriello, & McDill, 1989). We have, say business leaders, "the makings of a national disaster," conditions which could lead to the creation of "a third world within our own country" (Fiske, 1989, p. A1):

> If we continue to let children who are born in poverty fail to get the kind of education that will allow them to participate in our economy and our society productively, then some time in the 21st century this nation will cease to be a peaceful, prosperous democracy (Brad Butler, former chairman of Procter & Gamble, as quoted in Fiske [1989, p. A1]).

Our most acute problems are found in our big cities and, especially, in inner-city, "ghetto" schools. Although some readers may find the terms, "ghetto" and "ghetto schools," dated and pejorative in connotation, these terms are used in the research literature because they highlight the policy problem so effectively raised by William Julius Wilson (1987): the critical social implications of increasing concentrations of acutely disadvantaged families and individuals in deteriorating neighborhoods in our inner cities. Experts disagree about the numbers of persons who can be fairly classified as "truly disadvantaged," the exact definition of this category, and the extent to which this problem is growing (see, e.g., Jencks, 1989). There is no disagreement, however, that disadvantaged youth concentrated in our inner-cities represent the most imperiled portion of our growing population of "at-risk" students.

Speaking of these imperiled students, and the impact of the exodus of middle-and working-class families from the inner city, Wilson (1987, pp. 57-58) says:

> in such neighborhoods the chances are overwhelming that children will seldom interact on a sustained basis with people who are employed or with families that have a steady breadwinner. The net effect is that joblessness, as a way of life, takes on a different social meaning; the relationship between schooling and postschool

> employment takes on a different meaning...The [adverse educational] consequences are dramatically revealed when figures on educational attainment in the inner-city schools are released. For example, of the 39,500 students who enrolled in the ninth grade of Chicago's public schools in 1980, and who would have normally graduated from high school four years later in the spring of 1984, only 18,500 (or 47 percent) graduated; of these only 6,000 were capable of reading at or above the national twelfth-grade level. However, the situation is even more bleak for those black and Hispanic students who attended segregated inner-city high schools and who represented two-thirds of the original class of 1984. Of the 25,500 ninth-grade black and Hispanic students who were originally enrolled in these segregated, nonselective high schools in Chicago, 16,000 did not graduate. "Of the 9,500 students who did graduate, 4,000 read at or below the junior [high] level and only 2,000 read at or above the national average. In these nonselective segregated high schools, then, only 2,000 of the original class of 25,000 students both completed high school and could read at or above the level considered average in the rest of the country" (Wilson quotes from Designs for Change, 1985, pp. 2 & 5; emphasis added).

In many ways, the plight of ghetto schools, serving high concentrations of the "truly disadvantaged," is a particularly critical, special case of a larger problem: How can we create schools that are effective for most students, not just the minority who are academically oriented? Clearly, as declining test scores and other indicators suggest, it is not just inner-city schools that have problems with effectiveness (see, e.g., Sedlak, Wheeler, Pullin, & Cusick, 1986). Contrary to the extraordinary faith we used to have in schools, we live in a time when many people wonder whether schools--or other social agencies--really can "make a difference." Indeed, in the grim case of our inner-city ghettos, many would join in asking, "Have crack, AIDS, homelessness and the deterioration of the family so overwhelmed the poor that it is too late for government to help?" (Kerr, 1989, p. B2).

Yet, even now we still live in a society with a legacy of strong belief in the efficacy of our schools. We still continue to heap new responsibilities on the schools, partly because we think they can discharge them and partly because the schools seem the logical agency to pick up tasks once performed by the family and church. We continue to seek straightforward, simple and inexpensive recipes for "what works" in schools (US Dept. of Education, 1987a, 1987b). But, a more sophisticated understanding of what our schools have accomplished historically, and how this has been achieved, would guide us in more realistic, though more demanding, paths as we try to reform American education and transform ghetto schools. As Perkinson

(1977) concludes, in The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1976, the widespread perception of efficacy, which for so long has fueled expectations of schools and educators, was exaggerated:

> Ostensibly the schools succeeded; civilization was preserved, the economy expanded, and the republic secured. But as the work of Bernard Bailyn and Rush Welter has revealed, there was a host of informal agencies of education that played perhaps a more important role in these tasks. Probably the very vastness of the land, the diffuseness of its people and institutions helped hide from the Americans the fact that their schools were not the primary or sole agency of civilization, not the primary or sole vocational training agency, not the primary or sole agency of politicization. But the problems had been solved, and most Americans did attribute success to the schools (219-220).

Thus, reform effects, both past and present, generally have focused on what can be done to improve the schools, to restore them to their presumed former efficiency, while at the same time neglecting vital "out of school" factors that influence the outcomes of schooling. This is understandable, of course, since it makes sense to concentrate on those variables most easily controlled and alterable by educators. But factors associated with students and their families, and with the community and society in which they live, also have to be addressed in any comprehensive approach to our educational problems. This is particularly true in the case of disadvantaged students, but also applies to most students, as we shall emphasize in the ensuing discussion.

Associated with the schools, the students and their families, and the community and society in which they live, are three categories of theories that subsume most of the work on educating the disadvantaged. These categories, proposed by John Ogbu (1988), are institutional deficiency theory, which focuses on problems within the school system, developmental deficiency theory, which argues that disadvantaged children fail in school because their parents don't teach them the needed competencies, and cultural discontinuities theory, which claims that minority children tend to fail because of conflicts between the child's culture and the culture of the school and the larger society.

Although most scholars would agree that all three categories of theory include important facets to be addressed in a comprehensive solution, most approaches in practice have tipped in one direction or another, despite occasional lip service to the contrary, partly because of what were perceived as the most crucial problems and partly because of the difficulty of designing a feasible, across-the-board approach.

To simplify matters, the discussion in this paper is divided into two parts: "Problems and Solutions Within Schools" (including institutional deficiency theory) and "Broader Problems and Solutions," which subsumes the rather closely related developmental deficiency and cultural discontinuity theories.

Problems and Solutions Within Schools

Despite the obvious importance of out-of-school factors for disadvantaged minorities, it is appropriate to begin by examining within-school problems, since if schools tend to be ineffective generally only the most advantaged or academically oriented students are likely to succeed. The question of school effectiveness first came to the fore when the famous "Equality of Educational Opportunity" report (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, & York, 1966) suggested that out-of-school factors were much more important than in-school factors in influencing student achievement. Further fuel was added to the fire with the publication of Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America (Jencks, Acland, Bane, Cohen, Gintis, Heyns, & Michelson, 1972). On the basis of a reanalysis of a vast body of data, Jencks and his associates concluded that "Neither family background, cognitive skill, educational attainment, nor occupational status explain much of the variation in men's incomes" (p. 5). Just for good measure, the same year Inequality was published, a major review of existing research by the RAND Corporation reached a similar negative conclusion: "Research has not identified a variant of the existing system that is consistently related to students' educational outcomes" (Averch, Carroll, Donaldson, Kiesling, & Pincus, 1972, p. x).

The disturbing notion that schools really don't make a difference set in motion a search for schools that do succeed with disadvantaged children. This quest produced George Weber's (1971) pioneering description of four such schools, followed, in 1979, by Ron Edmonds' (1979a, 1979b) similar efforts, which initiated the influential and ongoing "effective schools" movement. This movement has been reinforced by new analyses, using more sensitive methodologies, that show that schools do matter. As Murnane (1983, p. 204) observes:

> The most important lesson learned from quantitative research on the determinants of school effectiveness is that schools make a difference. Even in inner cities in which virtually all of the children attending public schools come from relatively poor families, there are important differences in the amount of student learning taking place in different schools and among classrooms in the same school.

Significantly, as Clark, Lotto, and Astuto (1984) emphasize, schools not only matter, but they matter most for disadvantaged children. They note, as Coleman has frequently, the Equality of Educational Opportunity report was misinterpreted. It concluded that:

> The schools do differ, however, in their relation to the various racial and ethnic groups...the achievement of minority pupils depends more on the schools they attend than does the achievement of majority pupils. This indicated that it is for the most disadvantaged children that improvements in school quality will make the most difference in achievement (Coleman et al, 1966, p. 22).

Accordingly, the "effective schools" movement began as an equity concern focused on reaching ghetto students through more effective ghetto schools. But, with the rise of the "excellence" movement, concern has shifted during the 1980s to the question of the quality and efficiency of our schools in general (Wimpelberg, Teddlie, & Stringfield, 1989)--a development that has raised serious concerns that equity goals will be sacrificed in the quest for excellence (Bastian, Fruchter, Gittell, Greer, & Haskins, 1985; Boyd & Kerchner, 1988). The cause for this shift, in our contemporary crisis of school effectiveness, is the perception that the schools may be placing both our nation and our children "at risk"--and no longer just a small segment of our youth, but perhaps as much as 40% of them.

Triggered in 1983 by the A Nation at Risk report, the "first wave" of the "excellence" reform movement tried to achieve excellence via state mandates intensifying much of what already was being done--for example, higher graduation requirements, more testing, a more standardized curriculum. But the "second wave" of the reform movement, associated with the Carnegie Task Force (1986) report, A Nation Prepared, and the National Governors Association (1986) report, Time for Results, emphasizes the need for professionalizing teaching and restructuring schools. Not more of the same, but something quite different is needed, say these reformers.

Institutional Deficiency Theory

Significantly, sophisticated policy makers, analysts, and business leaders increasingly believe that real reform cannot be achieved without major changes in the way that schools are structured and operate (see, for example, Chubb & Moe, 1988; Kearns & Doyle, 1988; Sykes & Elmore, 1989; Shanker, 1989, 1990). Increasingly, academics, business leaders, and reformers agree that schools, as they are presently organized, are strongly inclined toward inefficiency and goal-displacement. Critics and reformers break down into two camps regarding the source of this difficulty: some stress dysfunctional organizational arrangements in the workplace while

others claim the problem goes deeper, that fundamental features of the governance and incentive structures of public schools are dysfunctional. The workplace critics believe that organizational restructuring and new management practices could solve our problems (Carnegie Task Force, 1986; Sykes & Elmore, 1989); the incentive critics contend that only fundamental changes in the authority, control, and incentive structures of public schools could succeed (Chubb & Moe, 1988; Michaelsen, 1977, 1981). Both camps agree that public schools presently have serious efficiency problems, but they part company about what has to be done to correct this.

The workplace critics claim that the pervasive disengagement of both teachers and students from teaching and learning in typical American schools (documented in Powell, Farrar, & Cohen [1985] and Sedlak et al [1986]) is, in large part, the product of an ill-designed workplace, within an organizational structure that frustrates students, teachers, and school administrators (Meier, 1989). Typically, this structure isolates teachers; discourages teamwork and professionalism; provides inadequate rewards for teaching and learning; and makes unattainable demands on school administrators (Rosenholtz, 1985; Sykes & Elmore, 1989). Bacharach and Shedd (1989, p. 146) observe that:

> most school systems are not the tightly-controlled organizations that many policy makers and managers would like them to be, but neither are they the collections of autonomous professionals that many teachers would prefer. As organizations go, they are remarkably complex combinations of "loose" and "tight" elements, with individual teachers isolated or insulated (depending upon one's point of view) from direct contact with administrators and each other (Weick, 1976) yet constantly constrained by the decisions of others.

These organizational conditions promote a perverse pattern of informal bargaining behavior between students, teachers, and school administrators. Constrained by the need to maintain order and teach content that students may find unappetizing, teachers are inclined to try to compel, rather than entice, learning. Yet this coercion is usually unsuccessful and causes students to resist learning and to seek ways to persuade or force teachers to reduce what is demanded of them. This sets the stage for making "classroom bargains" or "treaties" in many schools:

> By and large, teachers are rewarded for controlling their classes rather than for ensuring engagement with subject matter. This incentive structure, combined with relatively great classroom autonomy, makes it difficult to resist the temptation to tolerate, if not participate in, the sort of personal interaction that students prefer which undermines

> concentration and diverts everyone's attention away from the process of acquiring academic knowledge. With little supervision over instruction, teachers who lack confidence in their mastery of subject matter, or who simply run the risk of being humiliated in confrontations with students over the imposition of rigorous assignments and standards, are encouraged to teach "defensively" in order to minimize the disorder and resistance that could spill out into the halls and arouse the attention of the authorities (Sedlak et al., 1986, p. 168).

Schools presently, say Sykes and Elmore (1989), are really unmanageable; school administration, they contend, is virtually "impossible work" in the current structure of roles and relationships. A recent analysis of the "politics of educational productivity" (Boyd & Hartman, 1988) throws light on why there is truth in these assertions, and why there is substantial evidence (e.g., Boyd & Crowson, 1981; Leithwood & Montgomery, 1982) that school administrators, at least until recently, have typically done little to improve school productivity. Because this analysis helps us understand the basis of both the workplace and incentive critics' concerns, we summarize it in the following section.

Deficiencies of Public Schools as Organizations

If public schools were as loosely coupled and anarchic as some have claimed (e.g., Meyer and associates, 1978; March and Olsen, 1976), school administrators would face nearly insurmountable obstacles in trying to manage them efficiently and productively, even if they were strongly inclined to do so. However, recent research, such as Crowson and Morris' (1985) analysis of administrative control within the Chicago school system, supports the view (Bacharach & Shedd, 1989; Willower, 1979) that school systems are neither as loosely coupled nor tightly bureaucratic as some earlier research indicated (e.g., Hannaway and Sproull, 1978-79; Rogers, 1968). A brief review of relevant theories from sociology, micropolitics, and political economy helps to illustrate this.

To begin with, two sociological theories illuminate some of the processes that facilitate the functioning of loosely coupled organizations. "Negotiated order" theory explains how order is established and maintained in organizations through a process of interaction among members who negotiate a variety of rules, agreements, arrangements, and understandings, most of which are informal and unofficial (Day and Day, 1977; Strauss, Schatzman, Bucher, Ehrlich, & Sabshin, 1963). Much of the informal bargaining that occurs in this interaction and negotiation can be understood in terms of "exchange theory," developed most notably by Homans (1958) and Blau (1964). Based on an economic calculus of benefits, and the need

for mutually beneficial accommodations among groups and actors, exchange theory emphasizes the need for reciprocity and quid pro quo arrangements in social relationships (i.e., "you scratch my back and I scratch yours").

Crowson and Morris (1985) found that such negotiations and exchanges were among the key factors promoting coordination and control in the Chicago school system. Moreover, as noted earlier, recent scholarship on the problems facing school reformers is replete with evidence of the pervasiveness, throughout the entire hierarchy of school systems, of informal bargaining, compromises, and "treaties" (Powell, Farrar, and Cohen, 1985; Sizer, 1984; Sedlak et al. 1986), "mutual non-interference pacts" (LaRocque and Coleman, 1985), and the like. Thus, Hubermann (1983: 23) found that "much of the innovation process is taken up with bargaining, both explicit and implicit. One person's 'strategy' for school improvement collides with another person's 'strategy' for avoiding a loss of status or freedom or benefits."

With the salience of bargaining in exchange theory, negotiated order, and "organized anarchy" theory (March and Olsen 1976), we enter the domain of theories that are political as well as sociological. It is but a short jump directly into the subterranean realm of the "micropolitics" in organizations, with its focus on the strategic use of influence, manipulation, bargaining, and coalitions (Bacharach and Lawler 1980; Bacharach and Mitchell 1987; Hoyle 1985, 1986; Pfeffer 1978). But even without leaving the bounds of exchange theory, we can begin to see why school administrators frequently are reluctant to push for more productive behavior: the costs of working out such exchanges with subordinates often are perceived to be greater than the benefits received.

To see why this is the case, one must look at the constraints on the ability of school administrators to direct or motivate teachers. As Hoyle (1986: 135) observes in his evocative discussion of the micropolitics of schools in the British context:

> the problem for heads [i.e., principals] is that they have a high degree of authority but the legal sanctions which underpin this authority will only be invoked relatively infrequently. Moreover, teachers have a relatively high degree of autonomy supported by professional norms which inhibit the exercise of legally-based authority of the head. Thus the head's administrative control must depend to a considerable degree on the exercise of latent power and on influence. This would seem to be likely to encourage the head's deployment of micropolitical strategies in the somewhat gaping interstices within the management structure.

In the American context, the power and authority of school principals seem even more limited. Based on interviews with 113 principals in 59 elementary school districts in suburban Chicago, Dan Lortie (Education News, 1988: 10) concluded that:

> the relationships principals find most valuable are not with their superiors [or with parents], but those with teachers...Principals are dependent in many ways for their personal satisfaction and their ability to advance in their careers on their ability to get along well with the teachers in their buildings...This dependency on teachers creates peculiar tensions for principals, largely because of the ambiguous nature of principals' authority. Central offices often possess final authority on many important matters and the principal's autonomy depends on his ability to gain the trust of more highly placed administrators. That relationship is fragile and is often tested. Unhappy teachers can complicate the relationship. As a result, many principals take few risks with new programs and seek to build strong personal relationships with teachers...The strong impression is of persons relying more on their ability to win influence and good relationships than on the assertion of powers being built into the office they hold. It is also consistent with a reality in which formal powers are indeed weak. Principals adapt to those realities in ways that are understandably rooted in interpersonal skills rather than use of powerful rewards and punishments.

Given the conditions in which teachers typically work--as modestly compensated solo practitioners, heavily dependent for occupational survival and personal satisfaction on the cooperative attitudes and academic ability and success of their students (Lortie 1975)--the maintenance of a favorable balance between organizational inducements and their personal contributions is often problematic (Rosenholtz 1985). In particular, the psychic costs teachers face frequently threaten to overwhelm the psychic rewards of "earnings" they receive (Rosenholtz 1985). Thus, it is not surprising that teachers in typical schools are apprehensive about being "supervised" or evaluated and are reluctant to ask for help or advice (Rosenholtz 1985). Consistent with exchange theory, they behave like Blau's (1955) government agents, who were reluctant to ask for help and advice for fear of being thought incompetent or because they didn't want to become indebted to those from whom they sought help.

In this context, Hoyle (1986: pp. 125-149) observes that both principals and teachers must be creative in exploiting the limited "goods" they have available for purposes of bargaining and exchange. Thus, a principal may swap lax application of rules and

autonomy for a teacher's support and opinion leadership among peers. When the going gets tough, though, a principal may have to resort to bolder micropolitical strategies such as: dividing and ruling, cooptation, displacement, controlling information, and controlling meetings (Hoyle 1986: pp. 140-148). Although concerned about the ethical issues involved, Hoyle notes that administrators sometimes use such tactics as: "rigging" agendas, "losing" recommendations, "interpreting" consensus, and "massaging" the minutes of meetings (pp. 145-146).

Since playing politics or even exerting strong leadership can be risky for school administrators, we need to know more about incentives and disincentives that may foster or discourage more venturesome behavior on their part. Here, theory and research (e.g., Barry and Hardin 1982; Niskanen 1971) on rational choice behavior and the political economy of public sector organizations add considerably to the insights of exchange theory and micropolitics. This is the realm of the incentive critics. Interpretations in this body of knowledge range along a continuum which runs from reasonable to strident versions of the same logic. Unfortunately, the more extreme versions--which unfairly contrast public sector organizations with idealized versions of efficient, profit-seeking firms--cause many people to dismiss the logic of the whole argument, which is quite consonant with the precepts of exchange theory discussed so far. Nevertheless, there is a growing consensus about the incentive problems of public schools. This is reflected, for example, in the adoption in five states over the past five years of schemes to provide financial awards for high-performing schools. Moreover, even the top teacher union leader in the country, Albert Shanker (1990), has proposed a competitive financial incentive plan for schools, an idea unthinkable under the traditional equity norms of unions.

Rational choice theory begins with the reasonable assumption that individuals seek to maximize their welfare and, accordingly, make rational choices or decisions toward this end. In assessing the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action, they are sensitive to the incentive or reward structures in which they find themselves. Since public, non-profit organizations lack a profit motive, this leads to questions about the nature of the incentives that operate in its absence. For instance, given the tenuous nature of principals' authority in public schools and their dependence on the good will of teachers, why should principals risk trying to change and improve things? What are the rewards for doing these kind of things? As a school administrator remarked to us, "How many principals are willing to stir things up and possibly have to move to another job as a result? How often will even risk-takers be willing to do this? And how many times will the superintendent or central office be willing to 'go to the wall' for principals when they stir things up?"

Of course, if there were keen incentives in the school district for improving performance, then one could envision the central office strongly supporting and

rewarding principals who "stirred things up" or, better, were able to improve productivity by more harmonious interpersonal and group processes. Note, however, that even the latter approach involves changing things, which can be risky. The question remains, then, about how strong the incentives are likely to be for better productivity. A closer examination of the political economy of public schools provides a disturbing view of this matter.

Analysts using the perspective of market-oriented political economy contend that the nonprofit, government-supported character of public human services organizations tends to create a perverse structure of incentives for employees (Michaelsen 1977, 1981). In the quasi-monopolistic, consumer-insensitive setting of such organizations, the reward structure often is not oriented toward performance. "Public choice" theorists emphasize the profound effects of two features of public-sector organizations. First, public managers lack property rights or a profit motive in the successful performance of the organization. Second, the organization receives a tax-supplied budget, independent of satisfying individual consumers. From these starting points, much of the behavior of public school personnel which might otherwise appear irrational or "loosely coupled" can be explained. For instance, since there are no profits in public schools to motivate and reward managers (and teachers' salaries are based on seniority rather than performance), educators--as rational, self-interested people seeking to maximize their own welfare--may be inclined to maximize their nonpecuniary benefits. This means that in place of profits (which would depend on satisfied customers) public educators may seek to maximize such things as the size of their budget, the scope of their activities, the ease of their work, and their power and prestige. On the other hand, they will try to minimize their psychic costs by avoiding risks and conflict insofar as possible.

In short, the personal goals of employees in public schools often will take precedence over the official goals of the schools because the costs of inefficient behavior, in terms of the official goals (such as student outcomes or consumer satisfaction), are low. Indeed, in the argot of economists, this state of affairs creates a "demand for inefficiency," since the "law of demand" postulates that demand for various "goods" increases as their cost decreases (Chambers 1975). Thus there is the discrepancy between personal and official goals that is accentuated by the reward structure in public-sector organizations and their relationships with clients and sponsors (Boyd and Crowson 1981); Michaelsen, 1977, 1981; Ostrom and Ostrom 1971).

From the point of view of productivity, Chubb and Moe's (1988) analysis comparing the attitudes of public and private school teachers and administrators suggests that the political preoccupations set in motion by public education's governance structure have pervasive negative consequences for school effectiveness. Their

Administrator and Teacher Survey was sent to about 500 schools included in the original High School and Beyond data set. They found that:

> private schools are more likely to possess the characteristics widely believed to produce effectiveness...[T]he differences across the sectors are anchored in the logic of politics and markets...[T]he key differences between public and private environments--and thus between public and private schools--derive from their characteristic methods of social control: the public schools are subordinates in a hierarchic system of democratic politics, whereas private schools are largely autonomous actors "controlled" by the market (p. 1065).
>
> [Thus,] private schools have simpler, less constraining environments of administrators, school boards, and parents. They are more autonomous and strongly led. They have clearer goals and stricter requirements, and they put greater stress on academic excellence. Relations between principals and teachers and between teachers themselves are more harmonious, interactive, and focused on teaching. Teachers are more involved in policy decision, have greater control over their work, and are more satisfied with their jobs (p. 1084).
>
> If this is essentially correct, the standard proposals for reforming public schools are misconceived...[The] best interests of the schools are doomed by the institutions of democratic control, which guarantee conflict of interest, struggle for advantage, and resort to formally enforced "cooperation." Reforms calling for even the simplest changes...will normally fail if they threaten established interests...It may well be, then, that the key to school improvement is not school reform, but institutional reform--a shift away from direct democratic control (p. 1085).

Clearly, Chubb and Moe's analysis provides further support for various kinds of parental choice plans and magnet school schemes that would leaven the public school environment with elements of the market dynamic. These options are controversial, to say the least, among both the public school lobby and those advocates of at-risk children who believe such plans tend to work against their interests. However, it appears possible to design plans that guard against the obvious pitfalls and foster not only parental and student choice among public schools, but the reciprocal choice by educators needed to create schools of shared values and strong community (Boyd, 1989; Nathan, 1989).

Even if one rejects Chubb and Moe's conclusions and the "public choice" interpretation outlined above, Shapiro and Crowson's (1985) analysis of the supervisory behavior of twenty-four Chicago public school principals shows the value of rational choice theory. This study explored why the principals in their sample, on the average, spent only seven percent of their time in classrooms, even though the observation and improvement of teaching are supposed to be among their most important roles. Although principals themselves were inclined to say that they were "just too busy" to be able to find the time, and that it was neither necessary nor very useful to observe teachers, the ethnographic data in this study suggested a more basic explanation to Shapiro and Crowson: "It is just not in the best interests of building principals to engage in classroom observation" (p. 17, emphasis in original).

In support of this conclusion and consistent with Lortie's observations reported above, they note, first, that "principals intrude infrequently into the classroom teacher's private educational domain because principals need and depend upon the cooperation endangered by close supervision" (p. 17). Thus, they found that "teachers may actively sabotage overly close supervision of effort" (p. 17) with such micropolitical tactics as:

> forgetting to bring requested materials to conferences, overloading a principal with trivial requests or decisions, constantly arriving late at meetings, neglecting personal duties (e.g., hall monitoring) and exhibiting a general slowdown in report preparation; these are among the subtle cues (plus some not so subtle such as increased numbers of grievances) delivered to principals by teachers to suggest that all is not well in the superior-subordinate relationship (p. 18).

As a result of these sorts of cues, "principals typically downplay the classroom observation element in the supervisory role in favor of a tacit understanding that teachers owe them something in return" (p. 19).

A second reason why principals didn't observe teachers more in the Chicago school system is that such behavior was not rewarded by the system. Indeed, Shapiro and Crowson present evidence showing that sometimes principals were punished, rather than rewarded, for rigorous evaluations of teachers and efforts to get rid of true incompetents. Moreover, typical of large urban school bureaucracies, the operative values in the system really emphasized control rather than instruction as the purpose of classroom observation:

> Although conceivably a mechanism for the improvement of instruction...the observation of classroom activity serves the principal

> more as a mechanism for "keeping the lid on" in the school. Principals are more likely to be punished organizationally (e.g.[,] transferred to less desirable schools) for their failure to keep their buildings devoid of visible conflict, away from damaging publicity and generally free of vocalized parental displeasure than for a failure to be instructionally effective (p. 22).

In sum, school administrators are not irrational. Like most people, they calculate the benefits and costs of different courses of action in light of the reward structure that prevails around them. Superintendents and central office administrators, as well as school principals, are sensitive to the likely consequences of their behavior. They try to anticipate the reactions and consequences of their acts and seek to optimize their welfare. Because of the significance of the feelings and attitudes of teachers, particularly due to the potential power of their unions, principals and even superintendents may be inclined to more solicitous to their concerns than to those of (generally unorganized) parents. Given a reward system for teachers that is insensitive to performance--and teachers unions' resistance to reforms that would change this, such as merit pay and career ladders--those with the most interest in better productivity (parents and citizens) are in a weak position to pursue that interest.

The Special Problems of Urban Schools

Unfortunately, as Shapiro and Crowson's study illustrates, large urban school systems, where most disadvantaged children are concentrated, are especially prone to have problematic reward structures. Of course, there are always some "maverick" principals willing to take risks and "buck the system" to make their schools work more effectively. These heroic individuals loom large in the folklore of urban schools. But such atypical examples do not provide a practical model for how to reform large city school systems. What is needed are reforms that make it possible to succeed <u>because</u> of the system, rather than <u>in spite</u> of it.Yet, the context and conditions within which urban school teachers and administrators work have become increasingly constraining and problematic (Boyd & Crowson, 1981):

> The extraordinary pressures placed on the schools over the past two decades, in behalf of greater equity, equality, effectiveness, and efficiency--and the performance problems of schools these pressures have brought to light--have led to a number of far-reaching changes: a virtual revolution in authority relations in schools; a sense of crisis about the normative order of schools; a serious decline in public confidence in, and support for, the schools; and substantial changes in how schools are governed (pp. 311-312).

> There is substantial agreement that...the public school governance system has become more complex, bureaucratized, and legalized; that state and federal involvement has increased with a corresponding diminution of local control; and that more actors and interest groups are involved, with one consequence being the creation of more veto points in the policy-making process. On the one hand, there has been an effort to mandate or "legislate" learning (Wise, 1979)...On the other hand, however, there has been the often more than off-setting influence of the increased muscle and impact of teachers' unions and collective bargaining (pp. 313-314).

Despite these developments, which were particularly salient in the early 1980s, in recent years there have been promising examples of strong leadership by big city school superintendents and community leaders to forge district-wide conditions for school improvement within a context of broad community support. Some of the best of these efforts have been described and analyzed for their common themes in a Rand report by Hill, Wise, and Shapiro (1989).

Still, we know that there are widespread problems in the normative order of urban schools, such as those vividly described in Gerald Grant's (1988) recent in-depth case study, The World We Created at Hamilton High. Grant chronicles the transformation of Hamilton High from a white, middle-class high school of the 1950s to a troubled urban high school of today. He argues that liberal reforms--to promote, for example, equity and students' rights--had both positive and negative effects. Today's urban schools provide more equality and justice but, says Grant, a troubling "corrosive individualism eats away at the heart of the enterprise. Teachers are doubtful about the grounds of their moral authority, parents organize themselves into special-interest groups, [and] students are trained to become skillful consumers and clever advocates" (p. 1). Cusick's (1989) review of Grant's book highlights the policy dilemmas that led to the high schools we have today. Speaking of the local control and values Grant favors, he says:

> Certainly, a strong positive ethos is an appealing school characteristic, and autonomy and teacher empowerment are necessary conditions of that ethos. But equally appealing and arguably necessary are school consolidation, integration, mainstreaming, bilingual education, federal aid to education, and state testing, none of which was or could have been generated by locally autonomous, teacher-empowered schools. In fact, local schools and their teachers resisted and continue to resist all of those elements. What a strong ethos and local control do not allow for is that public schools are major implementers of social

> policy...The question is whether America wants schools that are walled up against and quite likely to resist social change (p. 321).

Our big city school districts have long been criticized for their tendency toward bureaucratic pathologies arising from their size, scale, and industrial management practices (e.g., Rogers, 1968; Borman & Spring, 1984). Ironically, just as Chicago attacked this problem, with its current program of radical devolution to the school site level, New York City discovered that its decentralization plan, inaugurated in 1970, has permitted rampant corruption and patronage politics in some if its twenty-three community school districts. Since many cities, not just New York and Chicago, have traditions of ethnic succession and patronage politics (Rogers & Chung, 1983), it is difficult to steer between the Scylla of bureaucratic centralization and the Charybdis of vulnerable devolution.

One of the most disturbing changes affecting urban school systems is the escalation of violent crime and teenage gang activity, often associated with the exploding problem of illegal drugs. Turf wars between heavily armed gangs and the epidemic of drug-related murders and shootings have made sheer survival a paramount concern in some inner-city neighborhoods. Just getting to and from school safely can be a very grave concern. In a newspaper article on the situation in Chicago's crime-infested Englewood police district, a minister is quoted as saying, "Playtime doesn't exist down here. Trying to lead a child's life is fraught with danger. There is a lot of isolationism and secrecy and fear" (Sakamoto, 1990, p. 19). In this neighborhood, children have been killed for the designer clothes they were wearing.

Similarly, another newspaper article reports on the situation faced by members of a gifted class at Crane High School, in another area of Chicago (Wilkerson, 1990). These students face additional dangers going to and from school because of resentment over their special status in school. But even the "normal" dangers are daunting. One member of the class says that six of his friends have been killed since grade school. In such neighborhoods, life is particularly difficult for young males. "With the law on one side and the [drug] pushers on the other, the choice for many is" get busted [by the police] or get busted up [by the gangs] (Sakamoto, 1990, p. 19). In such a climate of violence, and with opportunities for youth to make from $300 to $1000 a week in the drug market (Sakamoto, 1990, p. 19), it obviously is difficult to create a climate for learning or deferred gratification.

Despite the disproportionate and socially significant share of students they serve, there are little data available on trends in the performance and operation of our large urban school systems. Moreover, the spotty data that are available tend to be difficult to compare and assess. Trends in test scores sometimes are deceptive, a point called to nationwide attention in the 1987 Friends of Education study which

revealed the so-called "Lake Wobegon effect," namely, that all states were reporting average test scores above the national norm--a remarkable feat--due to the use of national tests with outdated test norms. Orfield and Peskin (1990) describe the impact of this practice in Atlanta:

> One of the most remarkable and widely praised set of achievement test claims of the early 1980s came from the Atlanta Public Schools. Pronouncements by Atlanta school officials that a substantial majority of the city's virtually all-black enrollment was achieving above national norms were constantly cited as proof that strong, committed, black educators could overcome the problems of race and poverty within a context of racial and economic segregation. Had they been true the argument that Atlanta had discovered educational methods brir ig equal opportunity to segregated low-income schools would be : ongly supported. The reports turned out to be premature, however (p. 35).
>
> The scores that the school system had been reporting had been deceptive. The district was using a less competitive base test, the California Achievement Test (CAT) and the district used norms established back in 1978 when average test scores across the nation were considerably lower, particularly in the early grades. The new state testing program used a more demanding test with a 1984 norm year [with the result the Atlanta came in at the bottom, even in comparison with the state's poor, rural majority black districts]. Two other policies also tended to produce deceptively high scores. The school district had begun flunking very large numbers of students. A student repeating second grade and taking the second grade test would, for example, look more successful in terms of his or her test scores than if he or she had to take a third grade test. The district also allowed children functioning well behind their grade levels to take the test for the grade level at which they were functioning, rather than the grade they were in; a third grader functioning on the first grade level could be given the first grade test (p. 37).

In the context of such practices, which obviously have not been confined just to Atlanta, it is difficult to appraise developments in our large cities, not to mention national trends. Jencks (1989) reports data showing, contrary to conventional wisdom, that Blacks' graduation rates and reading levels in the senior year have improved dramatically since 1970. Moreover, he cites research by Lyle Jones (1987) showing that even when one looks specifically at poor, inner-city Blacks the reading scores of 17-year olds rose substantially between 1971 and 1984. Consequently,

Jencks (1989, p. 52) concludes that, "There is no evidence that poor blacks are getting less education or learning less today than they were 20 years ago." It is difficult to reconcile Jencks' conclusion with the evidence emerging from various case studies and reports on large urban school systems, such as that by Designs for Change (1985). For instance, in a study of eight metropolitan high schools (six public and two Catholic), Metz (1990) highlights a dysfunctional commitment to what she calls "Real School"--the widespread belief that disadvantaged and below grade-level students should receive the same rigorous curriculum found in college preparatory high schools, even when it is obvious that they are unable (without remediation) to succeed with work at this level. The result, in her view, is a charade, a deceptive game of symbolic educational politics that nevertheless captures broad support from parents and educators. Among other things, belief in "Real School" provides support for the practice of flunking and retaining students, a practice that research shows most often has negative effects (Jackson, 1975; Johns Hopkins University, 1988, pp. 3-4). As with Jencks' conclusion, it is hard to reconcile Metz's analysis with Coleman and Hoffer's (1987) evidence suggesting that the common curriculum and standards upheld by Catholic high schools elicit a higher level of academic performance from disadvantaged students than that achieved by similar students attending public high schools (see also Lee & Bryk, 1988).

In addition to unraveling such conundrums, and the need for more reliable data on the outcomes being achieved in large urban systems, we also need to know more about how urban school systems are responding to the changing and intensifying problems afflicting many of their inner city students, their families, and communities. As noted earlier, the outmigration of working-and-middle class black families has depleted the social and economic fabric of inner city communities, increasing the isolation and vulnerability of the urban poor and exacerbating the problems of ghetto life (Wilson, 1987). Wacquant (1989, p. 515, emphasis added) underscores the impact on schools of the increasing concentration of inner city poverty:

> The lowering of the class composition of the student body and of the volume of "cultural capital" that children bring into the classroom from the outside has substantially diminished objective chances of academic success. The high density of low-achieving students undermines teachers' morale and discipline. The prevalence of joblessness weakens the perception of a meaningful connection between education and work and decreases academic aspirations accordingly, making it exceedingly difficult for the school to compete with other available sources of income and status, including illegal ones. An important mediation of educational and job success

> (especially in an economy increasingly oriented toward personal services that require frequent face-to-face interaction and extensive social skills of self-management and communication) is language. One of the most worrisome implications of the increasing isolation of the ghetto is that the black English vernacular spoken in inner cities is growing more different from standard English. For sociolinguist William Labov [1986, pp. 277-78, 281-282], the fact that "the majority of inner-city blacks are diverging from and not converging with the dominant linguistic pattern" is evidence of their decreasing contacts with the dominant culture; he views it as the linguistic correlate of "the formation of what has been called 'a permanent underclass.'"

Finally, we need more information about trends in labor relations in urban school systems. Clearly, the effectiveness of schools always will depend heavily on the morale and performance of the teaching staff. Recent developments in reform-oriented urban districts undertaking ambitious "restructuring" ventures seem inevitably to be tied to positive trends in labor relations and the active involvement and, often, leadership provided by the teachers unions (see, e.g., Kerchner & Mitchell, 1988). We need to know more about the dynamics affecting these positive developments and the status of labor relations in our major urban school districts.

The "Effective Schools" Movement

In contrast to the organizational and institutional critics, the "effective schools" advocates believe there is nothing inherently dysfunctional about today's schools. All could be much more effective by copying the attributes gleaned from research on the "outliers," those unusual, "instructionally effective" elementary schools where low-income and minority children achieve well above predictions based upon their social class and ethnic background (Edmonds, 1979a, 1979b). These "instructionally effective" schools share a more focused and achievement-oriented approach to schooling than do "typical" schools, an approach which resonates with commonsense views about fundamental pedagogical practices. The institutional deficiency of typical schools, in this benign view, is mainly that they lack an "instructional" focus, high expectations for achievement, and a shared culture or ethos that binds together staff, students and the necessary core of effective attributes (described below) (Cohen, 1983).

While there is much that is intuitively appealing about this approach, the effective schools movement tends to be simplistic, and the research upon which it is based is suspect (Rowan, Bossert, & Dwyer, 1983). The very simplicity, however, has helped to create a "bandwagon" effect for the effective schools movement (Sirotnik, 1985). Indeed, many states have mandated that all their elementary schools adopt the

attributes and prescribed practices distilled from studies of unusually effective schools. A recent General Accounting Office study found that over half of the nation's school districts have initiated or plan to implement programs based on the "effective schools" research (Snider, 1989b). Moreover, the Hawkins-Stafford School Improvement Act of 1988 not only provides incentives for doing this, but includes a legislative definition of an effective schools program gleaned from the research:

> The act defines effective schools programs as those that exhibit the following characteristics: strong and effective administrative and instructional leadership that creates consensus on instructional goals; an emphasis on the acquisition of basic and higher-order thinking skills; a safe and orderly school environment; an expectation that virtually all children can learn under appropriate conditions; and continuous assessment of students and programs to evaluate the effects of instruction (Snider, 1989b, p. 4).

Although the research base supporting the "effective schools" movement is shaky, there are reasons for taking the movement seriously. The methodological problems include:

> (1) the comparison of extreme outliers (highly effective with extremely ineffective) that neglect both the properties of "average" schools and the measurement of random error; (2) the reliance on case studies...(3) the cross-sectional rather than longitudinal design of most studies...(4) the failure within some studies to control for confounding variables such as student SES; and (5) the lack of generalizability to populations other than elementary schools (Rosenholtz, 1985, p. 353).

Nevertheless, there are a number of reasons why we should pay attention to the findings of these studies (Rosenholtz, 1985, p. 353; Murphy, Hallinger, & Mesa, 1985). First, some of the studies document how schools that changed their organizational conditions became more successful. Second, "even when controlling for random error, analysts find that organizational characteristics account for 32 percent of between-school variance in student achievement" (Rosenholtz, 1985, p. 353, citing Rowan et al., 1983). Third, this body of research, conducted in a brief period of time without coordination, has produced "common findings with remarkable consistency" (Rosenholtz, 1985, p. 353). Fourth, this research is consistent with other important areas of research, such as the implementation literature. Fifth, this research has logical appeal for administrators and teachers who must work to help schools improve. Sixth, this research focuses on the school

as the unit of improvement (and was the first movement to do so). Finally, this is perhaps the best-established body of research showing that schools can work for at-risk students.

Further support for the effective schools findings is provided by Fifteen Thousand Hours, a remarkable study of twelve inner-London secondary schools by Rutter, Maugham, Mortimore, Duston, & Smith, (1979), and a more recent study of 50 inner-London junior schools (equivalent to grades 2-5 in the US) by Mortimore, Sammons, Stoll, Lewis, & Ecob, (1988). The Rutter study followed the progress of 2,700 students from the end of elementary school through the twelve high schools, providing us with one of the few effective schools studies at the secondary level as well as one of the few with a longitudinal design. The authors document striking differences in the behavior and learning of students in the different schools, even when controlling for their social backgrounds. Moreover, they provide systematic evidence linking differences in school practices with the differences in student outcomes, irrespective of student intelligence or home background. Rutter and his colleagues emphasize the importance of the variation they found in the "climate" or "ethos" of different schools. For them "ethos" was the overall character of the school as a social institution responsible for teaching and helping young people. The more effective high schools were ones where the adults cared about the students, teachers wasted little time in class on peripheral matters, and there was a consistency in views about academic and behavioral goals and standards.

The emphasis that many scholars besides Rutter put on the significance of the "ethos" of effective schools (e.g., Cohen, 1983; Grant, 1981; Mortimore et al., 1988) underscores the difficulties of "mass marketing" approaches to the dissemination and application of these findings. To create a positive and productive school climate, where one does not exist, requires a sustained school improvement process (Clark, et al., 1984). This requires time and steady support, often over a period of years, for the collaborative process must overcome the "isolated teacher" syndrome and the perverse bargaining dynamics described earlier in this paper. Thus, effective school prescriptions can't just be mandated by legislatures and quickly slipped into place with a lot of rhetorical lubrication. When it comes to changing and foregoing old habits, schools are more like elephants than chameleons.

Even if a school or school district is willing and able to undertake a sustained school improvement process, implementation of effective schools prescriptions is complicated by the neglect, especially in the early stages of this research literature, of (1) the significance of variations in the context in which different schools operate (Wimpelberg, Teddlie, & Stringfield, 1989), and (2) the importance of individual differences among children (Epstein, 1988). These oversights cause uncertainty about how, and to what extent, the prescriptions should be modified or adapted for

different circumstances, for example, different grade levels, subject matter, and student SES. One of the best examples is Firestone and Herriott's (1982) analysis of how prescriptions for effective elementary schools, calling among other things for goal consensus, only partially fit the quite different and diversified organizational structure and character of secondary schools.

The special difficulties of American high schools, in terms of both effectiveness and equity, have been the subject of mounting concern and investigation during the 1980s (Boyer, 1983; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sedlak et al., 1986; Sizer, 1984; Wehlage, & Rutter, 1989). From this literature, one can begin to assemble a "prescription" for secondary schools that would be more effective and equitable for all students. One major concern would have to be current patterns of curriculum tracking for students of differing social classes. Many critics agree with Oakes' (1986: p. 13) assessment: "Even as they voice commitment to equality and excellence, schools organize and deliver curriculum in ways that advance neither."

Murphy and Hallinger's (1989) analysis of "equity as access to learning" highlights the problem. They show that evidence "is growing for the position that pupils in lower ability clusters and tracks not only often fail to receive the putative benefits of grouping, but receive less of many of the important alterable learning resources that promote such important outcomes as achievement and goal aspirations." Murphy and Hallinger conclude that

> the lack of rewards gained by teachers working with low groups...the perceived need to trade academic expectations for student goodwill [and] a lack of inspection of learning conditions within and among groups and tracks has contributed to the problem, as has a generally reduced sense of accountability for outcomes of non-academic track students.

Significantly, Murphy and Hallinger argue that we are on the brink of what has been called a "third generation" concept of equity in education. The first and second generation concepts of equity in education focused, respectively, on access to schooling and on equality of aggregated resources. The third generation concept holds that state-of-the-art educational processes should be in place--and accessible to all, regardless of social class, gender, tracking arrangements, etc.--even if we still lack the knowledge about the education production function to be able to guarantee equity in outcomes. Agreeing with Murphy and Hallinger, Rossmiller (1987: p. 567) concludes that

> most of the variables [found to be associated with school effectiveness] relate much more to the way in which resources are

> used--the processes of the school and classroom--than to the level of resources per se, thus lending support to the view that adequate resources are necessary, but not sufficient, to insure increased student achievement, and lending credence to the third generation equity issues.

For the disadvantaged, a second major concern has to be the organizational and institutional features of high schools that are alienating, that tend to drive them out rather than bonding them in. In a scathing critique of the dysfunctional character of our typical schools, Deborah Meier (1989, p. 32), the innovative principal of Central Park East Secondary School in New York City, says, "If we had invented schools purposely to increase the attractions of the streets, to promote peer isolation, to undermine adult authority, and to make kids sneer at 'culture,' they would look like America's junior and senior high schools today." Like Meier, Gary Wehlage's analysis of the dropout problem (Wehlage & Rutter, 1986; Wehlage et al., 1989) emphasizes that schools contribute to the problem. From their analysis of High School and Beyond data, Wehlage and Rutter (1986, pp. 384-385) conclude that high school:

> for most students is a place where teachers are not particularly interested in students, and the discipline system is perceived as neither effective nor fair. Dropouts are not satisfied with their schooling...Almost all of the youth who eventually drop out see themselves finishing high school... While dropouts do not see themselves attaining as many years of schooling as their stay-in counterparts, it should be noted that among black dropouts more than 50 percent see themselves going beyond high school for additional education.
>
> ... If one comes from a low SES background, which may signify various forms of family stress or instability, and if one is consistently discouraged by the school because of signals about academic inadequacies and failures, and if one perceives little interest or caring on the part of teachers, and if one sees the institution's discipline system as both ineffective and unfair...then it is not unreasonable to expect such individuals to become alienated and lose their commitment to the goals of graduating from high school and pursuing more education.

Based on an analysis of practices in 14 effective high schools for at-risk youth, Wehlage et al. (1989) argue that high schools need to adopt measures to draw disadvantaged students into a sense of membership in the school community. To do

this, schools need to personalize their relationships with students. This can be done, they say, by reducing the size of enrollments; by emphasizing caring, face-to-face relationships between teachers and students; by emphasizing an "extended role" for teachers that includes what the British would call "pastoral care" for students; and by curricular modifications that allow for more in-depth, rather than fragmented, experiences, and more instruction that is relevant to, and accepting of, the needs and characteristics of disadvantaged youth (see also Mann, 1989; Meier, 1989).

As well as neglecting contextual differences, the effective schools movement also has been criticized for its neglect of the importance of individual differences among students. As Epstein (1988) has argued incisively, one model of effective schools can't fit the diverse needs of all students. Epstein (1988, pp. 115-116) notes that Edmonds and his followers shifted the focus of the movement from that of Weber's (1971) pioneering effort, with its close attention to students, to a concern for the global characteristics of the successful school:

> "Careful" evaluation of student progress (Weber) was transformed to "frequent" evaluation of student progress...As a result, attention shifted from information on how to improve student experiences and assignments to how to improve teachers' management and accountability...[Also,] the emphasis was switched from the student's "pleasure in learning" (Weber) to a "safe and orderly" atmosphere conducive to learning controlled by teaching and administrative decisions...Although Weber emphasized "strong reading skills," later work emphasized "basic skill acquisition." This well-meaning extension from one subject to all subjects had an unintended result--attention was directed away from the measurement of well-specified reading skills for each student to the measurement of poorly specified minimum competencies for the school as a whole.

In their thoughtful assessment of the field, Wimpelberg et al. (1989, p. 102) echo Epstein's concerns. They advise that "Research that is sensitive to multilevel effects, in particular the effects of individual practices and adult attitudes on children of varying SES backgrounds within classrooms, can preserve something of the equity impulse [characteristic of the first phase of effective schools research] and may be a link to stabilizing the middle class population in already socio-economically integrated public schools" (emphasis in original).

Segregated Schools

The last topic to be noted briefly under the "within school" heading is one that cuts across into the domain outside of schools. The effort to end racial segregation in

schools was one of the earliest efforts at making the schools more effective for disadvantaged racial minorities. In the 1954 Brown decision, the Supreme Court was influenced by expert testimony that stressed the damage done by segregated schools to the self-image and self-confidence of black children. Also, it was widely believed that schools for black children were generally inferior in terms of facilities, resources, and the quality of the teaching staff. Consequently, reformers believed the social and academic adjustment of black children would be improved by desegregating the schools.

In 1966, Coleman's "Equality of Educational Opportunity" report suggested that in fact most schools across the country, black, white, or integrated, had about the same resources. But it also suggested that low-income students benefited academically by the stimulation of attending classes with middle-and upper-middle-class children. This provided a new reason for desegregating schools, this time along social class as well as racial lines, in order to help poor children succeed in schools.

It is difficult to think of a policy issue that has been subject to more controversy or more conflicting research results than has school desegregation (see, e.g., Orfield, 1978; Wilson, 1973). In general, it appears that the results of desegregation usually have been neither as "good" nor as "bad" as its friends and foes expected. The results usually have been mixed in terms of enhancing academic learning, as Ogbu (1988) notes, but desegregation still has its champions and defenders (e.g., Hawley, 1981). The difficulty now, of course, because of "white flight" and middle-class flight from the cities, is that meaningful school desegregation usually would require highly controversial cross-district busing plans. In the present political climate, this makes magnet schools and other voluntary schemes more feasible means for pursuing the ends of desegregation, although they too are no without controversy (Metz, 1986, forthcoming).

Still, the failure to pursue racial and social desegregation of our schools continues to haunt us, as Orfield and Peskin (1990, p. 27) observe, because the concentration of poor, minority students in inner-city schools tends to create school "without middle-class academic expectation."

> Failure is encouraged in schools lacking the example of competitive students successfully positioning themselves for good jobs or colleges, without the effective community sanctions to discourage teen pregnancy and dropouts, where teachers do push or prod because they are not "burned out" by a depressing environment and too many daily burdens. Middle class schools are much more connected to colleges and jobs (Orfield & Peskin, 1990, pp. 27-28).

In the case of Atlanta, where busing for desegregation was avoided in favor of a plan for Black control and management of Atlanta's schools, Orfield and Peskin conclude that the results have not been encouraging. Atlanta's schools are not only more segregated today than they were in the 1970s, but the academic results--with the exception of a few schools--continue to be disappointing.

Broader Problems and Solutions

In the 1960s, disadvantaged children were thought to be "culturally deprived." Cultural deprivation provided a theory explaining that their problems in schools stemmed from "deficits" in their family and cultural backgrounds. Today, "cultural deprivation" is viewed at best as an anthropological oxymoron, and at worst as a racist concept. Consequently, it has been replaced generally by reference to "cultural differences." Whether as a result of "differences" or "deficits," low-income disadvantaged children arrive at school with a different background in linguistic, cognitive, motivational, and social development than that of middle-class children. For instance, family and class membership seems to produce distinctive speech patterns. Thus, Basil Bernstein (1973) has argued that working-and lower-class children learn "restricted" linguistic codes while middle-class children learn "elaborated" codes. Since schools are essentially middle-class institutions, this creates a major adjustment problem, both for disadvantaged children and schools.

Cultural differences are frequently viewed now as differences in "cultural capital," a concept popularized by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Cultural capital can be defined as "the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed on from one generation to another. Cultural capital represents ways of talking, acting, modes of style, moving, socializing, forms of knowledge, language practices, and values" (McLaren, 1989, p. 190). The "cultural capital" model, as distinct from the "cultural difference" model, places the onus for explaining different outcomes between members of a particular society--defined by economics and politics--on their individual access to the elements of a class culture rather than on their ethnic or racial background.

Significantly, while there are cultural differences, contemporary research also shows that there is more variation in the quality of family life within social class and ethnic groupings than once thought. Reginald Clark (1983) has documented how poor Black families vary considerably in family life in ways that affect their children's school achievement. Clark also found that these differences are not determined by such variables as income, marital status of parents, or amount of parents' formal education. Clark's findings suggest that systematic efforts to help parents learn how to help their children succeed in school could be very beneficial, a point that is also

strongly supported in the effective schools research. If Clark is correct, access to cultural capital might be less difficult than many social critics believe.

Another encouraging research development concerns our most disadvantaged and maladjusted youth. Ross and Ross (1989) have found that delinquents tend to lack the thinking skills needed for social competence, the "thinking skills which are required for solving problems in interacting with other people" (p. 126). However, Ross and Ross find that when delinquents are taught these cognitive skills, recidivism is reduced by as much as 74 percent.

Pre-School and Compensatory Education

A variety of programs have been developed to teach disadvantaged children the skills, concepts, and attitudes which conventional schooling expects, but which they frequently lack because of the differences between their socialization and that of middle-class children. Pre-school programs such as Head Start try to prepare children to be ready for the demands of schools. There have been many evaluations of Headstart programs, most of which have concluded that, although the programs vary from place to place, they generally are valuable (but see Westinghouse, 1969). The potential for long-term benefits from Head Start programs, at least exemplary ones, has been documented rather dramatically in Schweinhart and Weikart's (1980) longitudinal study of participants in the Perry Preschool Project (see also Weikart, 1989). Schorr (1988) claims that Head Start has produced gains of over $4 for every $1 invested. Advocates of Head Start decry our underinvestment in it and the fact that only about twenty percent of the eligible children are served. The mounting pressure on the federal government to provide more funds so that Head Start can reach more of the eligible children is evidence of the program's popularity. President Bush's proposal to increase the 1991 Head Start budget by $500 million reflects this political reality.

Compensatory education programs, such as the federally-funded Chapter 1 (formerly Title I) programs, provide remedial instruction to help disadvantaged students who are below grade level "catch up." Like Head Start, Chapter 1 has been an extremely successful program if one judges it in terms of the political support it has garnered. As with Head Start, the number of eligible children not served by Chapter 1 has been a very sore point. Kirst and Gifford (1988, p. 8) note that:

> From its inception, the Title I program has not adequately targeted funds on the children from poverty families with the greatest educational needs. Despite the stated goal of reaching low scoring students in high poverty schools, hundreds of inner city middle and secondary schools that average in the bottom quartile of achievement

> and that graduate under 60 percent of their students do not have a Chapter 1 program because of insufficient funds. At the same time, in suburban systems throughout the nation schools with fewer than 10 percent of the student body living in poverty receive Chapter 1 funds. In fact, as structured today, Chapter 1 programs do not serve 68.8 percent of the nation's poor students, 64.9 percent of American students achieving below the 25th percentile in achievement, 57.9 percent of poor and low achieving students, and even 55.1 percent of poor and low achieving students who are enrolled in Chapter 1 schools.

Again, like Head Start, there have been innumerable studies and evaluations of Chapter 1 programs (e.g., Carter, 1984; Kennedy, Birman, & Demaline, 1986; Birman et al., 1987; Doyle & Cooper, 1988). One of the main controversies has been over the merits of Chapter 1 "pull-out" programs, which take children out of regular classrooms for a portion of the day to receive remedial instruction. Increasingly, there is agreement that "pull-out" programs are poorly integrated with regular instruction, that they tend to disrupt regular instruction, and also that they label students (Johnston, Allington, & Afflerbach 1985). Still, the Compensatory Education Study, mandated by Congress in 1974, found that "Title I services were delivered to appropriate children and that the program, when stable and well implemented, enhanced student achievement" (Leviton & Boruch, 1984, pp. 300-301). However, Kennedy Birman, and Demaline (1986, p. viii) conclude that, "Students who discontinue Title I appear gradually to lose the gains they made when receiving services. Chapter 1 students with very low achievement scores appear to maintain their relative academic positions but not to move ahead."

A further problem, these researchers found, is that "the achievement gap between disadvantaged and advantaged students appears to widen during the summer months" (Kennedy, Birman, & Demaline, 1986, p. viii). The foremost expert on this subject, Heyns (1978, 1987) concludes that "there is general agreement that children learn at a slower rate during the summer than during the school year. Summer programs, at least those offered in elementary schools, do not seem to enhance cognitive growth, although there is preliminary evidence that intensive remediation can arrest declines" (Heyns 1987, p. 1159).

Although Head Start and Chapter 1, and various summer programs have been generally beneficial, they do not seem to make a large difference for most disadvantaged children. In his assessment of programs aimed at "developmental deficiencies," Ogbu (1988, p. 133) concludes that:

> the rehabilitation strategies--early education, parent education, compensatory education, school integration for peer learning--have not been particularly effective in raising the academic achievement of Black children partly because they are based on misconceptions. One misconception...is that the causes of Black children's low academic performance lie in the biographies of individual children; the proponents of the rehabilitation strategies fail to explore how individual biographies might have been shaped by the collective historical and structural experiences of Black people. The other misconception is about development of adaptive human competencies as enduring attributes not merely because their parents or anyone else "stimulated" them sufficiently, but because the competencies are functional in their particular cultural-ecological niche.

Problems of Cultural Discontinuity

From the conclusions above, Ogbu (1988) moves into a discussion of "cultural discontinuity" theories and their implications for the education of disadvantaged Black children. He argues that it is important to distinguish between the background and adaptive behaviors of immigrant minorities and castelike or involuntary minorities (Ogbu, 1978, 1988). He describes how involuntary minorities, such as African Americans:

> developed survival strategies to cope with economic, political, and social exploitation. This development in turn shaped their theory of how to get ahead in American society, a theory that does not encourage academic learning and perseverance. The survival strategies also appear to be in competition with schooling...[T]he coping mechanisms...developed by nonimmigrant minorities, together with their collective oppositional identity, led them to develop a cultural frame of reference[;] school rules, standard practices, and even academic success are defined as "white" or "acting white." And because they are so defined, they are not socially acceptable--at least not without some social and personal costs (Ogbu, 1988, pp. 160-161).

Thus, Ogbu (1988) concludes that the barriers to school success for Black children in America are much steeper than either the institutional deficiency theorists or the developmental deficiency theorists recognize. He emphasizes that major efforts are needed to create more trusting relationships between Black and White Americans, to reduce the cultural gap between schools and Black children, and to convince Blacks that the social and economic opportunity structure really is open to them, that there in fact will be jobs for them comparable to those that Whites would

obtain with the same levels of education. Other recommendations Ogbu (1988) makes include efforts to teach nonimmigrant minority students "how to go to school," and to teach them to adopt a cultural model of schooling similar to that which "works" for immigrants, that is "accommodation without assimilation" (pp. 163-165).

A striking feature of Ogbu's analysis is that, although it makes clear just how pronounced is the oppositional culture arising from the experience of African Americans as an involuntary minority, it also connects with numerous sociological analyses that stress how lower-and working-class youth (probably worldwide) also find their culture in opposition to that of the school. This has been described vividly, for example, in cases involving lower-class, Italian Americans (Gans, 1962) and British working-class boys (Willis, 1979). In both cases, the attitudes and values of their families and peer group discouraged school achievement. Those who strayed from the fold, and did what the school and teacher desired, faced heavy sanctions from their peers and often disapproval from their families. On reflection, there seems to be a sort of hierarchy of cultures in opposition to the school--all of which create problems--moving in progressively stronger degrees and cumulative combinations from the anti-intellectual attitudes prevalent in society at large, to the generalized oppositional "youth culture," to the oppositional culture of lower social classes, and finally to the strongest opposition of all, the oppositional culture of involuntary minorities.

Commenting on the initial version of this paper, Ogbu (1989, pp. 3-4) noted that:

> available evidence does not suggest that the problem of poor school performance among black children is primarily that of children attending poor [or ghetto] schools...From comparative studies of minority groups' school performance in the U.S. and in other countries, we now know that the school performance of minority-group children, poor and non-poor, is not determined by minority status per se or the type of school they attend. There is a wide variability in the school performance of minority children in the U.S., Britain, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, to name a few places. Some interesting variations, moreover, have been observed in comparative research. For example, some minority groups do poorly in the schools of their "nativeland;" but when they emigrate to other societies they do quite well. This appears to be the case of the Japanese Buraku outcaste. In Japan itself today Buraku children continue to massively underperform when compared with the dominant Ippan children. But in the United States where Americans treat the Buraku exactly the

> same way they treat other Japanese immigrants, the Buraku do as well at school as their other Japanese counterparts.

Thus, Ogbu concludes that it is not the type or quality of school that African-Americans attend, or the fact that they are a minority group that causes their performance problems, but rather the type of minority group they are and how they have been treated by, and respond to, the dominant white American society. Consequently, Ogbu (1989, p. 4) urges that we look more deeply into "the reasons why different minorities in ghetto schools or ghetto-like schools perform differently."

Ogbu's analysis is a powerful one, as the example of the Buraku children demonstrates. To the extent that our poor Black population is increasingly concentrated in our inner cities, and processes of "hyperghettoization" are exacerbating their circumstances, then the isolation and "oppositional culture" they share will become increasingly potent in its consequences (Wilson, 1987; Wacquant, 1989). As noted earlier, Wacquant (1989, p. 515) emphasizes the dangers of the diverging linguistic patterns of inner-city Blacks and the mainstream middle-class: "This deepening of black-white linguistic opposition is furthermore becoming less transparent and functions more often than not below the level of social awareness." Continuing, Wacquant quotes from Labov (1986, pp. 281-282):

> When a child enters school and faces the problem of learning to read and write the standard language, unknown and unrecognized differences in the structural base can interfere with the cognitive process of learning to read and deepen the problem of establishing sound social and emotional relations to the school system...When we look at the divergence of black and white vernaculars in the inner city, we see conflict without contact, and therefore conflict without structure.

Among the problems created by the "oppositional culture" of involuntary minorities is that it can lead to patterns of "irrational decisions," in which individuals act against their own long-term best interests. A recent story in the press (Mezzacappa, 1989) illustrates the problems poor Black students face, even in situations where very unusual resources are provided to help them. In Philadelphia, benefactors George and Diane Weiss have promised to send to college all members of the 1987 graduating class of Belmont Elementary School who finish high school. One of these students, Marvin Wilson, was an honored guest of President Bush, in September 1989, and presented the President with a "Say Yes to Education" T-shirt. Three months later, Marvin Wilson had nearly dropped out of school.

Despite special attention and personal counseling from the Weiss's themselves and from the counselor of the "Say Yes" program, Marvin finds it hard to go to school, and if he does, to attend classes while there. According to Diane Weiss, "He's getting two divergent messages. There's the one of immediate gratification on the streets and with his friends. Then there's ours, which is more long term. They're so conflicting, so difficult, no wonder he's so horribly confused." Marvin says that "If I told my friends [that I had met the President], they wouldn't believe me." Moreover, such accomplishments might work against him. "I don't want to tell people what I do good, just what I do normal," he said (Mezzacappa, 1989).

Clearly, Ogbu's analysis, and examples such as that of Marvin Wilson, highlight the vital need to deal with the causes and consequences of the oppositional culture of involuntary minorities. But, this should not lead us to discount the importance of also improving the quality of ghetto schools and investigating the causes of differing responses to schooling within minority groups on the part of children from differing family backgrounds. Why do some poor Black students succeed in school despite the "oppositional culture" in which they are located? Put another way, how does social mobility (limited though it may be) occur under Ogbu's theory? Research is needed to better understand the individual, family, and neighborhood characteristics of Black youth who are upwardly mobile.

As noted earlier, research has shown the significance for student achievement of variation in the quality of family life within social class and ethnic groupings. If, as Clark (1983) found for poor Black families, these differences are not determined by variables such as income, marital status, or level of parents' education, then there are important within-group variables that need further research and appropriate attention by educators. Recognizing the diversity that exists in the population, Epstein (1989) and Epstein and Scott-Jones (forthcoming) argue for a differentiated and developmental approach in intervention efforts in behalf of at-risk youth. Epstein and Scott-Jones (forthcoming, p.3) emphasize that:

> Poverty and minority status do not always lead to negative developmental outcomes in children. Garmezy (1981) reviewed studies of Black children who were competent despite being subjected to poverty and prejudice in urban environments. Other researchers have identified and studied families of high- and low-achieving, low-income Black children in first grade (Scott-Jones, 1980, 1987) and in twelfth grade (Clark, 1983). These studies show the diversity of skills and attitudes in poor and minority families, and the positive roles that these families play in their children's education.

Findings such as these underscore the need to make ghetto schools as effective as possible, so that they can elicit the full potential that exists within the range of students they serve. Preliminary evidence from inner-city schools in Baltimore, working in collaboration with the Center for Research on Elementary & Middle Schools at Johns Hopkins University, further reinforces the view that more effective schooling can effectively reach a significant segment of the most disadvantaged black youth.

Turning to other minority groups, it is striking that disadvantaged Hispanic youth tend to have school performance problems as acute as African-Americans, even though they are not an involuntary minority in this country. What accounts for this? To what extent are the causes of the educational problems of Hispanic youth similar to, or different from, those affecting Black youth? Taken together, the issues raised in this discussion suggest that Ogbu's conclusions need some qualifications. What his analysis drives home, however, is how essential it is to undertake comprehensive approaches to the education of disadvantaged African-Americans, with adequate attention to the problem of cultural discontinuities.

Promising Comprehensive Programs

The programs today that come closest to meeting the steep demands--both inside and outside schools--for successful education for ghetto youth, particularly Black youth, seem to be the ones advocated by James Comer (1980, 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c) and Henry Levin (1987, 1988a, 1988b). Comer's approach is especially appealing since it speaks to many, though certainly not all, of the concerns Ogbu raises. In January 1990, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded a $15-million grant to promote the use of Comer's program, which was developed in the New Haven public schools and has been adopted by more than 70 schools in nine school districts across the country. The grant will support its implementation in the District of Columbia public schools, the development of a videotape and manual to facilitate dissemination of the program, its use in five other cities in special programs of the National Urban League and its incorporation into the curriculum of education schools at three universities (Daniels, 1990).

Both Comer and Levin's programs address the contemporary concern for mechanisms to build cultural and social capital (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Coleman (1987, 1988) has elaborated on social capital as it applies to the formation of human capital. Coleman's interest is in the ways that social relationships and associations provide structural support for both students as learners and teachers as educators.

In contrast to cultural capital, Coleman (1988, p. S116) considers social capital a public good. Because it is a public, rather than private good, this tends to lead to underinvestment in social capital and its concentration in fewer and fewer hands. Thus, Coleman foresees the danger of a "declining quantity of human capital embodied in each successive generation" (p. S118). To counteract this possibility, Coleman suggests "the substitution of some kind of formal organization for the voluntary and spontaneous social organization that has in the past been the major source of social capital available to the young" (p. S118). This would appear to be a function served by both Comer and Levin's approaches.

Comer's (1980, 1988a) interest in the role of social capital in the formation of human capital arose from personal experience and observation. He writes that:

> In the 1960's I began to speculate that the contrast between a child's experiences at home and those in school deeply affects the child's psychosocial development, and that this in turn shapes academic achievement. The contrast would be particularly sharp for poor minority children outside the mainstream...[T]he failure to bridge the social and cultural gap between home and school may lie at the root of the poor academic performance of many of these children (Comer, 1988a, p. 43).

This belief has shaped Comer's efforts in the widely publicized intervention project involving the New Haven, Connecticut School District and the Yale University Child Study Center. In 1969, when the project began with two low-income elementary schools, their fourth-grade students ranked 32nd and 33rd in achievement among their counterparts in the city's schools. "In 1986, the original project school--with no change in its socioeconomic makeup--tied for third in achievement out of 26 elementary schools, and students ranked about a year above grade level by the fourth grade on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills" (Comer, 1987, p. 16).

Comer's analysis of the two project schools "suggested that the key to academic achievement is to promote psychological development in students which encourages bonding to the school. Doing so requires fostering positive interactions between parents and school staff, a task for which most staff people are not trained" (Comer, 1988a, p. 46). To do so requires that school staff and parents overcome a natural resistance to cooperation which seems to pervade the schools. The intervention required the reduction of "destructive interactions" and the establishment of "cohesiveness and direction to the school's management and teaching" (p. 46).

To accomplish this, a team was formed to "govern and manage" the school (p. 46). This team included the principal, a mental health professional, representatives from the non-professional staff, and elected representatives from among parents and teachers. Guidelines were established to mediate between the needs of the principal for authority and those of the team to represent concerns and needs of the students as well as their respective constituencies. In order to assure cooperation, consensus decision-making was required (p. 47).

In addition to policy development, parents are also encouraged to participate in the life of the school and to assist in the growth of bonds between the community and school. Concerted efforts between social workers, school psychologists, and special education teachers combine to establish "school policies and practices so that students' developmental needs would be served better and behavior problems prevented" (p. 47). In addition to minimizing psychic distress and behavior problems to facilitate the student-school relationship, Comer's efforts also include a social skills curriculum to redress "the problem of social misalignment" (p. 48):

> Staff and parents devised a curriculum of social skills, with instruction in the subjects children would need to know: politics and government, business and economics, health and nutrition, and spiritual and leisure activity. The staff chose specialists to help develop the program. Children learned how to write invitations and thank-you notes, how to serve as hosts, how the body functions, how to write checks, how to plan concerts, and so on. Each activity combined basic academic skills with social skills and an appreciation of the arts. These activities were an immediate and dramatic success. Students, parents, and staff alike all felt a surge of excitement and a growing sense of participating in the mainstream (Comer, 1988a, p. 48).

The totality of this program is intended to develop the child socially as well as academically. While the social skills curriculum moves to align economically disadvantaged and minority students with mainstream society, the "team approach" to school management and governance represents an effort to modify school-community relationships. By involving parents and the community in the formation of social capital, the program also serves to alleviate some of the cultural discontinuity emphasized by Ogbu (1988).

Levin's (1987, 1988a, 1988b) "accelerated school" program represents another effort to achieve both academic and social success by combining effective pedagogical techniques with efforts to build social capital and reduce cultural discontinuity. Thus, Levin tries to build on the strengths of culturally different children, rather than focusing on their "deficits":

> People often overlook the strengths of disadvantaged students on the basis that they lack the characteristics of middle class students, not realizing that disadvantaged students carry their own unusual assets which can be used to accelerate the learning process. These often include an interest and curiosity in oral and artistic expression, abilities to learn through the manipulation of appropriate learning materials (as stressed by Montessori), a capability for engrossment in intrinsically interesting tasks, and the ability to learn to write before attaining competence in decoding skills which are prerequisite to reading. In addition, such students can serve as enthusiastic and effective school resources through peer tutoring and cooperative learning approaches (Levin, 1988b, pp. 23-24).

In many ways, Levin's emphasis on the strengths and abilities of disadvantaged students contradicts conventional wisdom which assumes a need for slower, remedial treatment of such students:

> The accelerated school is a transitional elementary school designed to bring disadvantaged students up to grade level by the end of sixth grade so they [can] take advantage of mainstream secondary school instruction...The goal...is to bring all children up to grade level, rather than limit interventions for the disadvantaged to "pull out" sessions. This approach requires an assessment of each child's performance at school entry and sets a series of objectives.
>
> Parents are deeply involved in two ways. First...[by] a written agreement that clarifies the obligations of parents, school staff, and students. Second...[by] opportunities for parents to interact with the school program and actively assist their children.
>
> Another aspect of the program is an extended day...During this period, college students and senior citizen volunteers work with individual students...These broad features make the accelerated school a total institution rather than a graft of compensatory or remedial classes onto conventional elementary schools (Levin, 1987, pp. 20-21).

Much of the promise for more effective schooling for disadvantaged children seems to lie with programs such as Levin's and Comer's. It is encouraging that there are many serious efforts to implement these models across the nation today.

Conclusions

From this review of the literature, it is clear that truly effective educational programs for the disadvantaged must successfully address all three clusters of problems Ogbu (1988) defined: institutional deficiencies, developmental problems, and cultural discontinuities. To clear all three hurdles is a formidable challenge, but programs such as Comer's New Haven intervention suggest that it can be done. A major impediment, however, is the need to assemble a community-wide combination of broad-based commitment and human resources sufficient to overcome institutional incentive problems and developmental and cultural obstacles. This requires extraordinary leadership and supportive resources from the whole community and society. As a recent Rand study concludes, "A failing urban school system can be turned around only if the entire community unites on its behalf" (Hill, Wise, & Shapiro, 1989, p. v). Although progress can be made "one school at a time," the kind of programs likely to really make a difference--such as those advocated by Comer and Levin--require not only system-level support from the school district but substantial commitments from the broader community and society. Thus, as Gary Wehlage observes,

> [T]here should be community-wide efforts in response to at-risk youth. For example, there should be collaboration between social service agencies and the school system. The community should develop goals for dropout and employment rates for youth, and there should be a commitment by the private sector to provide jobs for youth who successfully complete high school. One of the reasons some Pittsburgh youth [we interviewed] see themselves as "nothing" is that there's no employment for them even if they do succeed in high school. I think the notion of community ownership of the problem of at-risk youth is important. Schools can't solve the problem of at-risk youth alone. They need the cooperation of private and other public agencies (as quoted in Lockwood, 1989, p. 57).

In sum, ghetto schools that truly work over the long haul are unlikely to be ones following oversimplified versions of the "effective schools" prescriptions or ones based on the wishful admonitions of conservatives who believe schools can "pull themselves up by their own bootstraps." Using bullhorns and baseball bats, school principals like Joe Clark may create a more orderly climate in schoolbuildings, but they are hardly the answers to the complex and far-reaching problems of education for the disadvantaged. Instead, what is needed is the kind of broad-based approach outlined in "Visions of a Better Way: A Black Appraisal of Public Schooling," a 1989 report of the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice. Consistent with the assessment presented in this paper, the "Visions" report emphasizes "the centrality

of human relationships in education" and the need for a "collaborative, evolutionary" approach to surmount "the institutionalized patterns of beliefs and behaviors that have, on the whole, thwarted the education of black youth" (Snider, 1989a, p. 22).

For progress along these lines, there are several areas in which we particularly need more research. First, we need to better understand how to mobilize the extraordinary leadership and coordinated human resources needed to overcome the incentives problems and deficiencies in our present organizational structures in schools and their relationships with students, families, and communities. Research such as the Rand study cited earlier (Hill, Wise, & Shapiro, 1989) and Wong and Rollow's (1989) study of the extraordinary mobilization of citizens in behalf of the radical reforms now being implemented in Chicago represent a beginning at the level of the community-school system interface. Studies such as Rosenholtz (1985) and Boyd and Hartman (1988) represent a beginning at the level of schools and their relationships with school district central offices.

Second, we need careful evaluations and longitudinal studies of schools utilizing the Comer and Levin models for educating the disadvantaged. Levin's model has only recently been implemented, and we seem to lack data on the effectiveness of his model. It also is not clear how systematically and objectively the Comer schools have been evaluated. A possible limitation on the diffusion of Comer's model, which needs to be examined and appraised, is the very high level of expertise and human resources that appears to be required. This represents one example of the mobilization problem outlined above.

Third, we need more research and experimentation on how to effectively deal with the discontinuities between the culture of the school and the culture of disadvantaged minority groups, particularly those with strong "oppositional" cultures. Careful evaluations of the Comer and Levin schools may contribute to this end. Fourth, we need more knowledge about how to help poor and educationally disadvantaged parents help their children be good students. Finally, we need better public information on trends in the operation and performance of our large urban schools systems. These districts serve a disproportionate share of our students and the results they produce are too important, socially and politically, to continue to be concealed and obscured.

Moving from research to policy, we need to move beyond the old model of school administration as a separate entity to a model that facilitates the coordination of services for at-risk children. Speaking of the "fragmentation and dysfunctions evident in existing service delivery systems for disadvantaged children," Kirst and Gifford (1988, p. 21) say that,

> in part, simple availability of counseling, health, nutritional, youth-justice, employment, and educational services in one location might help. Probably, however, something more intense than a "shopping mall" constituted of social agencies on school grounds will be necessary. A mechanism is needed to coordinate the diagnosis and treatment of children's social pathologies on a case-by-case basis that follows the progress of the child for many years (pp. 21-22).
>
> Perhaps what is needed is a paradigm shift to children's policy that transcends the individual delivery systems such as schools or health agencies. Many disadvantaged children have multiple needs that cannot be met by any single public or private institution. Only by a comprehensive approach that follows the life course of a child can we make a big difference (pp. 26-27).

At the macro level, we also very much need strong, highly visible, and persuasive national leadership, from the White House as well as other national leaders, to start a movement for a "more effective society." This would seem to be necessary to enable our schools to become effective enough to achieve the high goals we now are setting for educational improvement in the United States. Are we really serious about the national performance goals President Bush and the state governors have been discussing? These goals, highlighted in the president's State of the Union address, include drastically reducing the dropout rate, increasing the high school graduation rate to 90 percent, and moving from the bottom on international math and science tests to number one by the year 2000. If we really want to attain these goals, we will need not only much more substantial investments in education and social services, but virtually a new social movement to galvanize public and private energies and to dramatically restructure American priorities. We are far from making the public commitment that is needed. For instance, President Bush has been criticized for ignoring the link between poverty and school failure. As Marc Tucker, president of the National Center for Education and the Economy, remarked, "The math and science goal is critical, but reaching it with 20 percent of our kids living in poverty is ludicrous" (Chira, 1990, p. A19).

The great danger, endemic to educational reform efforts, is that although the political incentives are favorable for proclaiming dramatic programs of reform, the costs of making good on them are generally higher than politicians (and society) are prepared to pay (Plank & Adams, 1989). On the societal level, for example, consider Scott Thomson's (1989) assessment of learning condition in the US as compared with those in South Korea and West Germany. In a "national report card," Thomson gave South Korea an A-minus, West Germany a B-plus, and the US only a C-plus. "American society," says Thomson, "doesn't measure up" for a variety

of reasons. "Compared to their international counterparts, most American students not only have fewer incentives to achieve good grades, they also have more incentives to hold jobs during the week" (see also Bishop, 1989; Sedlak et al., 1986). Thomson points to a North Carolina survey that found that half of the high school juniors were working, with 67 percent working 20 hours or more a week. In Germany and South Korea, students seldom hold jobs.

Thomson notes that many American students are lured into low-paying jobs to earn money for designer clothes and other consumer items advertised on television. Remarking on the sharp difference between the proportions of American and South Korean students watching science programs on television, Thomson emphasizes that "the American television industry tends to view children and youth as consumers rather than learners." If the learning conditions for our average students are poor, as Thomson contends, the conditions that ghetto youth face are abysmal.

Truly effective schools capable of truly helping the truly disadvantaged can only flourish in the context of more socially effective communities and a more effective society. To achieve this state will require the effective mobilization of "the power of public ideas" (Reich, 1987) for the creation and effective utilization of social capital and human resources in behalf of all American youth. A "nation at risk" in a turbulent, competitive world can ill afford to squander any of its potential. The time is propitious for a broad coalition behind a new social policy to foster a learning and caring society, one that promotes all our talent and leaves no one behind.

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